5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anapaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone haloed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara*: the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipis, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-machu, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, sikuchokkle), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukirirle or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian choza huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Kenko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Jaen* anan-saya), and xanacha (*Jaen* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a preinstile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *laka* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *tankala* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi* ("eggs") *skalel*] used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *Tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Oglivie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kapaka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 91) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *hola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kayla* or *'kayl*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 362, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (*JSAP N*, pp. 86-87; *M*, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9:La Barre E-6,5 (1938) 1941
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difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some quina are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pirí*) and *balsa* (*lliami*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian altiplano.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymara. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *pelo* (*Aymará pusiña*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymara form, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ua*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a reeded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusiña* or *pelo* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in connection with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed ceremonially save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsa*, and large *totora*-mats (or *llamas*, for carpets in "Aymara" huts). These are exchanged for *habas*, corn, sun-dried, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsa*, mat-making (*llamas* and *lowarú*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Fernandez, quite unnecessarily, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsa*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsa*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Bittmann:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very incomplete. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me [illegible]